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We regret the error on the contents page and on p. 528 of the September issue. The correct title of the article by Zeller is:

A. C. ZELLER: A role for children in hominid evolution

kill them (Nott n.d.: 25).

Scouts sent out to surround and drive birds into net; old men hold or throw enmeshed birds to ground, while others club them (Eyre 1845, vol. 2: 278).

Net set between two bodies of water; several 'elderly' men hide at each end of net, while younger men form two converging lines leading to net; scouts go out to surround birds and drive them between lines of younger men and into net, where they are clubbed by older men (Beveridge 1889: 73–75).

Wallabies:

Party of six or seven men erect equal number of nets on edge of bushland inhabited by wallaby; each man hides by his own net; women and children make a circuit of the bush and beat the animals out of vegetation and into the nets (Eyre 1845, vol. 2: 282–3).

'Oldest tribesmen' separate, each two taking a net; nets set where wallaby runways most plentiful; others shout and drive animals into nets (Troughton 1967: 189, 207).

Kangaroos:

Nets erected across narrow valley; 'whole tribe' drives animals in direction of nets; cordon of young men placed along path of drive takes up running of the animals into the nets (Bundock 1978: 262–4).

Nets erected near place where animals likely to be plentiful; young or 'most active' men stationed at nets; men, women and children drive animals to nets, where the young men dispatch them (Bennet 1927: 83; Stephens 1889: 491).

Evening before hunt, two or three men locate largest groups of animals and best place to set nets; next morning, 'strongest and ablest' men go out to erect nets; when finished, one of these men lights signal fire; fire detected by 'signal man' on hill near main camp; people in camp proceed to form large circle around area of hunt; when all are ready, signaller lights fire to start drive; animals driven toward nets; when nets in sight, 'principal driver' shouts; women drop back from cordon of drivers and men charge and kill animals; 200–300 men, plus unspecified number of women, participate in hunt (Hall 1907: 19–20).

LIVESTOCK SYMBOLISM AND PASTORAL IDEOLOGY AMONG THE KAFIRS OF THE HINDU KUSH

PETER PARKES

University of Heidelberg

The non-Islamic 'Kafir' tribes of the Hindu Kush mountains, on the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan, provide an exceptional opportunity to examine indigenous ritual and moral values surrounding transhumant livestock husbandry in central Asia. Among the Kalasha of Chitral, whose traditional religion is uniquely preserved in this region, contrasting livestock values associated with goat husbandry are related to a basic dichotomisation of the natural environment into 'pure' and 'impure' ritual spheres. This symbolic polarity corresponds to an extreme division of agro-pastoral labour by sex and to related features of sexual antagonism characteristic of Kalasha social structure. A comparison of alternative animal values among neighbouring societies suggests that such contrastive livestock codes, as noted by Blok (1981) in the Mediterranean, are intrinsic elements of a more general pastoral ideology of opposed male and female domains characteristic of transhumant mountain communities throughout Eurasia.

Some twenty years of intensive research among Asian pastoralists has greatly enhanced our knowledge of the cultural ecology and productive economy of livestock husbandry; however, the religious beliefs and ritual values of nomadic and transhumant peoples throughout the Middle East and Central Asia remain noticeably neglected (Gellner 1973: 8; Lefébure 1979: 13). There are now signs of a substantial reappraisal of the significance of religion among Middle Eastern pastoralists (Tapper 1984; Tavakolian 1984; Peters 1984); yet one finds scarcely any detailed treatment of the ritual and symbolic dimensions of pastoral practice itself that might be compared with the rich cultural ethnography of cattle pastoralists in east Africa, for example. Apart from Barth's (1961: 135–53) provocative appendix on the elusive 'ritual life' of the Basseri, and Tapper's (1979) study of the Shahsevan, some of the most informative accounts of pastoral symbolism in societies dependent upon small-stock husbandry concern unusual mountain communities in southern Europe (Campbell 1964; Ott 1979; 1981) rather than those more commonly encountered throughout Asia.

The peculiar absence of comparable accounts of ritual and symbolic expression among Middle Eastern or Central Asian pastoralists may derive from a more basic problem in investigating local religion within Islam (Tapper 1979: 12–17). For here the textual and universal authority of orthodox belief is likely to inhibit the expression of ritual and moral values that are contingent upon local conditions. So although Islamic pastoralists need not be irreligious (Peters

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1984), their overt ritual culture and cosmology [illegible] anthropological analysis, in appearing scarcely differentiated from the rites and beliefs of surrounding sedentary Islamic peoples, hence posing a 'paucity of ritual' of the kind whose symbolic expression might be directly related to their pastoral way of life. While this 'theistic barrier' to studies of local religion within Islam need not be impenetrable (see Ahmed & Hart 1984), it seems to have hindered our understanding of conceptual and ideological features that might distinguish pastoral religious representations from those characteristic of settled and agrarian people throughout Asia: differences of world-view and symbolic conception that one might expect to correspond with the very different problems and conditions posed by their respective means of livelihood.

This article explores such issues of religious belief and symbolic evaluation in relation to the pastoral practices of an ethnographically privileged *non*-Islamic people of Central Asia: the so-called Kafirs (arabic-persian 'unbelievers') of the Hindu Kush mountains on the borders of eastern Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan. The Kafirs, and their present-day Islamic descendants in Afghan Nuristan, are not exclusive pastoralists, for agriculture also has an important although culturally devalued role in their subsistence economy. Livestock husbandry, however, has had a paramount ritual and ideological significance in being segregated from all other activities as an exclusively male and sacred domain, where transhumant herding is almost the sole subsistence occupation of the male population.

Among the Kalasha of Chitral, whose non-Islamic religious culture uniquely survives in this region, contrasting livestock values attached to goat husbandry are related to a fundamental dichotomisation of the natural environment into 'pure' and 'impure' ritual spheres. This symbolic dichotomy, between male-pastoral and female-domestic domains, conceptually accommodates and orchestrates basic features of sexual polarity and antagonism that appear to be characteristic of both contemporary Kalasha social organisation and that of their Kafir neighbours in pre-Islamic times. After examining the ritual logic of purity and impurity surrounding goat husbandry among the Kalasha, I shall outline some of the alternatively juxtaposed livestock values of other herding peoples in the Hindu Kush, where similar pastoral ideologies are clearly evident in surviving pre-Islamic traditions. More widespread comparative evidence suggests that such ritual polarities, expressed in contrastive 'pastoral codes' (Blok 1981) of alternatively valued livestock, may have been generally characteristic of agro-pastoral mountain communities throughout Eurasia. The following account of pastoral symbolism among the Kalasha and their Afghan Kafir neighbours should therefore help to elucidate more fragmentary and hitherto unexplored ritual ideologies associated with transhumant livestock husbandry elsewhere.

The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush

The pre-Islamic culture of the *Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush* is largely known to us through Sir George Scott Robertson's book of that title, published in 1896. Robertson's detailed observations of Kafir life revealed an archaic and regionally

mountains of eastern Afghanistan, suffering [illegible] main historical religion of Asia (Fussman 1977). However, this intriguing 'lost world' of the Kafirs was tragically destroyed before it could be further documented, when the people of Kafiristan were invaded and forcibly converted to Islam by the army of the Amir of Afghanistan in 1895–1900 (Kakar 1981; cf. Jones 1969; 1974: 2–20; Buddruss 1983). Henceforth the shadowy 'Land of Unbelievers' was to be renamed Nuristan, the 'Land of Enlightenment'.

Despite valuable research conducted in modern Nuristan, attempts to reconstruct its pre-Islamic society and religion are necessarily conjectural wherever they extend beyond the information provided by Robertson and other more fragmentary nineteenth-century sources (Snoy 1962; Palwal 1977; Frembgen 1983; Jettmar 1986). One small non-Islamic tribe of the Hindu Kush, however, the Kalasha or 'Kalash Kafirs' (as they are called by Islamic neighbours), did manage to escape the Amir's invasion through a more fortunate location on the eastern periphery of Afghan Kafiristan, lying then within the frontiers of British India. Some 2,500 Kalasha-speaking people now inhabit three minor side-valleys of the Kunar or Chitral River in the southwest corner of Chitral District in northern Pakistan. Around 1,600 Kalasha retain their traditional religion, with conversions to Islam occurring sporadically.[1]

Although distinct from the Afghan Kafirs in speaking a wholly Indian or 'Dardic' language (Morgenstierne 1973), as well as through their early political subordination within the principality of Chitral, the religious and societal institutions of the Kalasha evidently belong within a common 'Kafir' cultural universe (Jones & Parkes 1984). They therefore afford us a unique opportunity to examine traditional ritual attitudes associated with a practical dependence on livestock husbandry in this region: a 'pastoral religion' that appears to have been characteristic of many other herding societies in the Hindu Kush prior to the arrival of Islam (Jettmar 1961; 1975).

Subsistence, social order and sexual antagonism among the Kalasha

Physically isolated in their narrow valleys, the Kalasha practise a subsistence economy that combines small-scale agriculture with transhumant livestock husbandry. Grain crops and fruit trees are grown on irrigated terraces around village settlements in the lower regions of the valleys. Herds of goats, together with a few sheep and cattle, are taken to high mountain pastures in summer and brought back to stables near the villages in winter. A wide range of natural resources at different altitudes is thus exploited, enabling most households, with barely an acre of arable land and a herd of 30 to 150 goats, to be largely self-sufficient.

A strict division of labour between the sexes coincides with this dual subsistence economy. The care of livestock and all related tasks of dairy production are assigned exclusively to men. Women conversely undertake all but the most arduous work in the fields, repeatedly weeding and watering the

crops throughout summer, harvesting and winnowing grain in autumn, as well as milling flour and performing domestic chores in the village.

Kalasha religious notions further reinforce this practical segregation of productive tasks. Goats are conceptually opposed to women as the respective embodiments of 'pure' and 'impure' ritual spheres. Women are therefore forbidden to approach any goat stable, lest their sexual pollution should attract spirits of ill-health towards its herd. Goats, and particularly male goats, are treated as the most sacred of animals: to be tended by herdsmen under conditions of ritual purity and to be sacrificed exclusively for male deities.

The Kalasha world is thus conceptually and practically dichotomised into exclusive domains:

Mountain	Valley
Pastoral	Agricultural & domestic
Male	Female
Pure	Impure
Divine	Demonic

I shall return to a fuller elucidation of this ritual-geographical polarisation after examining masculine social values that concern pastoral production in the mountains. But it is first necessary to outline some basic features of social organisation that are centred upon Kalasha village communities in the valleys. This is an area where women's dominant role in agricultural production seems to be matched by their strategic significance for social and political order, and disorder.

The ceremonially expressed principles of Kalasha society conform to a classic segmentary system of patrilineal descent. Named lineages (*kam*) are defined by strict rules of exogamy that prohibit intermarriage between agnates related within seven generations of descent from a common ancestor; and such lineages almost invariably segment as soon as their constituent descent groups become sufficiently differentiated to intermarry, ensuring an approximate parity in their genealogical depth (7–6 generations) and numerical strength (3–30 households). Lineages congregate as distinct groups on ritual occasions, especially in collective worship of the familial goddess Jeshtak (*Jēṣṭak*), where each lineage possesses a separate shrine to the goddess housed in a village temple (*Jēṣṭak-han*) which is commonly shared by maximal 'clan' groupings of two to three related lineages (Jones & Parkes 1984). Lineage membership is further characterised by mutual obligations of assistance among agnates in contributing to mortuary feasts and marriage payments; but its main public role emerges in the special context of wife-elopement feuds, as discussed below.

Despite their prominence on ritual and ceremonial occasions, Kalasha lineages seem to play a negligible role in the organisation of everyday affairs. Most productive resources, especially irrigated fields, are owned and farmed as the private property of independent households. Only tracts of uncultivated land, oak forest and pastureland may be held as the joint estate of descent groups, and these rarely comprise whole lineages. In defiance of the rhetorical values of lineage co-operation, close agnates actually tend to be *avoided* in the recruitment of cooperative work-teams for heavy productive tasks, for the commonly stated reason that agnates are the people most liable to become engaged in disputes over one's land. Some [illegible] that I recorded (35/4[illegible]id actually occur within lineages, mainly among agnates related within three to five generations of a common ancestor (Parkes 1983: 347–9). This pattern of agnatic hostilities seems to be an inevitable effect of cumulative patrifilial inheritance; since neighbouring farmers are most likely to be agnates who have inherited the divided estate of a common patrilineal ancestor, hence also inheriting intricate legal histories of disputation among their respective ancestors (Parkes 1983: ch. 7). Thus, despite common displays of group solidarity in ceremonial contexts, Kalasha agnates are frequently bitter enemies in private life, often preferring to seek aid from alternative, matrilateral and affinal relatives in everyday affairs.

The productive autonomy of individual households, combined with such antagonism within lineages, poses obvious problems of group solidarity for Kalasha communities, particularly for political leaders. Kalasha politics is therefore characterised by periodic factional struggles around rival 'elders' (*gaḍērak*), often associated with competitive feasting, where cross-lineage allegiances between households and minor descent groups tend to be more instrumental than the ceremonially expressed 'segmentary order' of patrilineal groupings might imply. Kalasha lineages do, however, find a particular purpose in being mobilised as practical groups: in the pervasive institution of wife-elopement (*alaṣīŋ*).

Kalasha marriages are highly unstable in their early years, especially prior to the birth of children, and their dissolution through *alaṣīŋ* elopement can occur long afterwards. More than 70 per cent. of Kalasha betrothals and first marriages are dissolved through run-away wives, while the majority of middle-aged men and women have passed through two or more successive spouses as a direct result of such elopements (Parkes 1983: 514–98, 633–4). An elaborate institution of compensation payments (*doṇḍ*) serves to regulate such marital instability, also integrating elopements within alternative systems of interdomestic exchange. Bridewealth, paid to a wife's father and senior lineage elders, is reckoned in various categories of real wealth, essentially livestock, and of ceremonial valuables which have a stipulated exchange value in nominal 'goats'. Now all such bridewealth goods must be matched by an abductor's lineage in *double* quantity, as compensation to the ex-husband, in the event of a wife's elopement; and so such compensation payments quadruple and become eightfold in the event of secondary and tertiary elopements of married women. A vast amount of redundant 'wealth' is thus continually circulating between households in counterflow to the passage of eloping women, serving to underwrite a large quantity of incidental credit in real foodstuffs between domestic groups.

Wife-elopements also give rise to dramatic displays of antagonism or quasi-feud between the lineages of ex-husband and abductor, these group hostilities reaching their climax in the protracted negotiation of compensation payments (*doṇ-grōm*), which provide the main occasions for political leaders to exercise their powers of influence as mediators on behalf of the community (cf. Jones 1974: ch. 4). The seemingly anarchic elopement of Kalasha wives therefore emerges, somewhat paradoxically, as a critical institution for societal integration along the 'segmentary' alignments posited by ceremonial representations of social order: engendering interdomestic assistance and providing a structured

basis for political organisation in the face of the atomistic and fissive tendencies inherent in domestic subsistence.

The freedom of Kalasha women to initiate and dissolve marriages by elopement, especially noticeable in the surrounding Islamic context of female subordination, seems directly related to women's productive monopoly of agriculture. No Kalasha household can remain independent without the continual field labour of its women, and frequent arguments arise between affines over the respective obligations of wives and daughters as agricultural producers for both male kin and husbands, such quarrels often occasioning elopement with the connivance of a woman's lineage elders. A proportionally high rate of adult female mortality further encourages a natural demographic competition between men over these essential productive (as well as reproductive) services of women (Parkes 1983: 31–2). The institutionalised elopement of the Kalasha, however, and the consequent powers of married women freely to determine the domestic and political fortunes of their menfolk, must also be placed within a pervasive cultural ethos of intersexual 'antagonism': of ritual opposition and ritually expressed hostility between the sexes, which constitutes a symbolic leitmotif of the most important religious festivals of the Kalasha (Parkes in press *a*; cf. Jettmar 1975: 398; Loude & Lièvre 1984). In indigenous conception, overtly expressed in the ludic songs of such festivals, this sexually agonistic ethos arises as an emotional consequence of the sharply demarcated seasonal separation of the sexes necessitated by livestock husbandry; for the majority of married men are absent for several months in the mountain pastures during summer, giving rise to numerous opportunities for extramarital liaisons, which necessarily instigate elopements.

There is evidence of seemingly identical customs of elopement and multiple bridewealth compensation, together with the ritual expression of sexual polarity and antagonism, among the pre-Islamic Kafir tribes of Afghanistan.[2] Similar forms of competitive 'wife-stealing' are reported for contemporary Nuristani peoples (Jones 1974: 157–8, 162) as well as among other mountain communities in the Hindu Kush and Karakorum, where the traditional pastoral economy remains dominant (Biddulph 1880: 77; Jettmar 1960). I would therefore suggest that such patterns of 'sexual anarchy', reflected in a prominent ritual opposition between male and female operative spheres, may be generally characteristic of transhumant mountain communities throughout this region of highland Asia: occurring wherever the male population is preoccupied with livestock husbandry. There are some striking analogies in European pastoral ethnography also to be considered in this context. However, it is necessary to contrast such domestic anarchy with an 'alternative social order' presented by the purely masculine world of pastoral practice in such societies: an experiential contrast which gives immediate insight into the dualistic cosmology of purity and impurity that underlies Kalasha religious conceptions.

The seasonal morphology of transhumant goat husbandry

Kalasha herdsmen, like their counterparts throughout the Hindu Kush, practise a form of alpine transhumance (cf. Edelberg & Jones 1979). In early June, shortly after women have begun working in the fields, the men drive their herds to the high pastures in the upper reaches of their valleys. Here they remain throughout the summer months of milking and cheese-making, moving their camps to higher areas of grassland as the snow retreats from the mountainside and then retracing their route to lower pastures as these recover in late summer. In autumn, following the main harvests in the valleys, they return to permanent stables in the holm-oak woodland zone near the villages, where the animals will be fed throughout winter on the evergreen leaves of the oaks. The pastoral year is thus divided into roughly equal periods of summer and winter grazing (fig. 1)

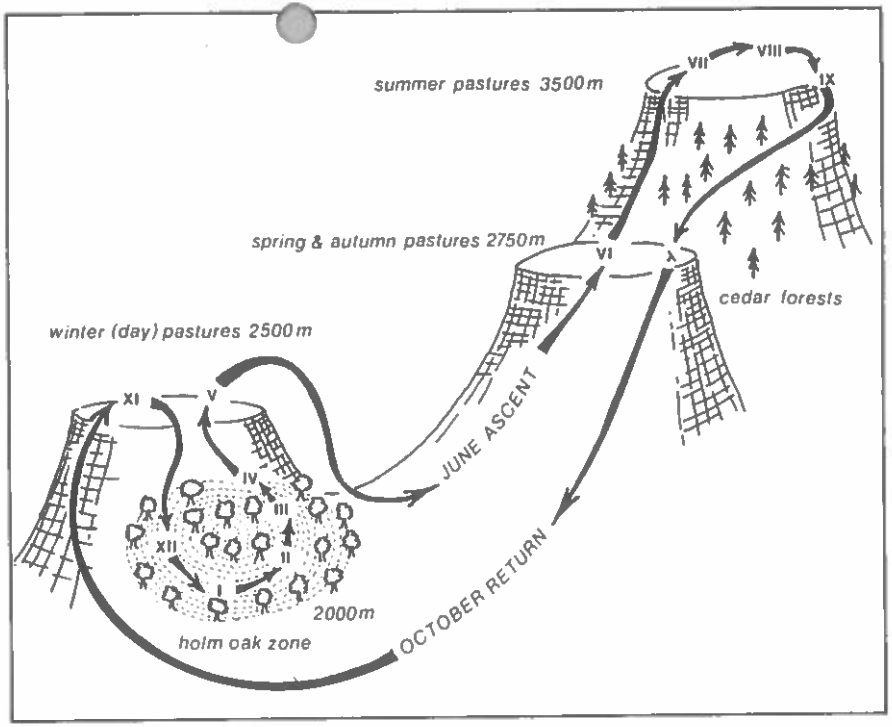

FIGURE 1. Schematic diagram of the migratory cycle. Roman numerals refer to months of the year.

The mountain pastures of the Kalasha are situated above the upper tributaries of their rivers, close to the Afghan-Nuristan frontier, 15 or more kilometres from most villages. Each site encompasses around 900 hectares of grass scree, usually sufficient for two to three encampments and up to a thousand head of livestock. These *son* pastures are held as the collective property of each valley community, often distributed by village. However, rights to grazing at named camping grounds (*istā*) are acquired through patrifilial inheritance, transferred through continued usage from one generation to the next.

Although descent groups may claim to 'own' areas of pastureland as their corporate estate, non-agnates can easily obtain access to grazing in such regions through their membership within a co-operative herding company of *palawī* partners. This consists of a group of four to ten households who pool their

pastoral resources for the summer period, sharing the tasks of herd management and dairy production among their male members.[3] Herding groups remain predominantly agnatic in composition; but most include *palawī* members from two or three different lineages, each having hereditary shares to grazing in different pastures, which allows for some manoeuvrability in the yearly distribution of pastoral resources. The *palawī* institution has further practical advantages: in providing mutual protection against the raids of Nuristani rustlers, in relieving the labour requirements of small families, and in amassing sufficient stock of lactating animals for efficient cheese production (cf. Nuristani 1973). Among the Kalasha it provides a unique institutional framework for sustained practical co-operation beyond the level of the household; and I believe that this singular feature of male co-operation, highlighted by the autonomy of households in all other productive tasks, infuses the entire sphere of pastoral production with its special significance as an ideological model for social order in general. We shall find that the symbolic principles of Kalasha religion imply a ritual transference of this ideal community of male co-operation to the domestic and 'impure' domain of the villages.

Arrangements for winter grazing are more individuated than summer pasturage, the valley stables (*goṣt*) and their surrounding tracts of oak forest being normally held as the private property of independent households. But although *palawī* partnerships are disbanded in winter, the goat stables constitute a ritual focus for alternative associations of dependent and herdless households, who must share the stable of an agnatic patron or neighbour for essential rites of purification during the long midwinter Chaomos festival.

Pastoral practice in the mountains thus demands and encourages co-operation, unlike land tenure and agricultural production in the valleys that tend to divide Kalasha communities, isolating households as autonomous units and promoting fractious rivalry among kinsmen. The relative manoeuvrability of livestock as a resource also minimises the effects of potential conflict; for unlike land, goats are easily divided among quarrelling brothers, and they can just as easily be reunited as a joint herd if relations should improve. Herds are therefore frequently maintained by expanded families long after they have partitioned their landed property: they remain as living proof of agnatic unity. Livestock can also be moved from one pasture to another according to changing friendships with other herdsmen, and this possibility in itself may reduce tensions among *palawī* partners. Hence it is readily understandable that the pastoral world should be so highly valued as a perfect realisation of communal solidarity, for its very nature demands this.

The seasonal transhumance of Kalasha herdsmen also has radical effects upon the temporal orchestration of social life in the valleys, necessarily articulated in relation to the phased dispersal and reaggregation of the male community (Parkes in press *b*). Pastoral practice engenders a distinct 'seasonal morphology' in Kalasha social organisation, reminiscent of the Eskimo described by Mauss (1979). Social life is identically dichotomised into contrasting summer and winter periods. However, the opposition between these 'two phases of dispersal and concentration' is perhaps even more radically expressed among the Kalasha than in the case of the Eskimo, for it cuts across individual families by gender, so that men and women tend to inhabit distinct and geographically remote spheres of activity for some five months of the year. Kalasha men therefore seasonally experience two alternative social orders: the exclusively masculine environment of the summer camps in the pastures, and the mixed heterosexual world of the villages. This opposition is even artificially maintained during winter through the ritually segregated zone of the goat stables. A man thus periodically passes back and forth between two modes of society—the 'pastoral' and the 'domestic'—which otherwise never meet directly.

Pastoral experience and livestock values

The goat has an equivalent value in Kalasha livelihood and experience to that of cattle among the Nuer or Dinka. Goats comprise the most important cultural goals of Kalasha society, its ritual premisses being founded upon the welfare of sacred herds transmitted from gods to early ancestors, and hence upon the notion of reproducing a competent and ritually pure male community of herdsmen. Goats are intrinsically sacred animals, their destiny to be sacrificed to the gods and mountain spirits to whom they belong. Goats are essential mediators between man and the hidden world of supernatural powers that surround him: their sacrificial blood offers a means of protection against forces of decay and disintegration, the demonic and polluting influences that are thought to be inherent in domestic life. Ownership of goats enables a man to marry (or to steal wives from other men), and it provides the wherewithal to give communal feasts of merit that enhance one's honour and political influence. Senior elders are therefore invariably prestigious herdowners, 'men of many horns' (*bo ṣiŋ-wāla muč*).[4]

Goat symbolism recurs in every facet of Kalasha religious culture. Representations of goats are carved on the doors and pillars of houses and on altars, their image painted on the walls of clan temples and moulded in dough or embossed on bread at important rites (Wutt 1977). Many festal dances enact the frolicking play of goats and the clashing of their horns in combat. Elders are praised for the size and beauty of their herds in oratorical speeches and songs, while numerous legends recount in exact detail the famous herds of lineage ancestors. In short, the Kalasha seem obsessed by goats: theirs is a 'caprine culture', an alpine counterpart of the famous 'cattle complex' of Nilotic and Bantu pastoralists (Herskovits 1930; cf. Kuper 1982: 10–25).

To comprehend this superordinate value of goats in Kalasha thought one needs to appreciate the intense emotional attachment that develops between man and animal in the mountain pastures. From the age of seven, after his pastoral rites of initiation into manhood and ritual purity, a boy spends most of his time away from the village, living and sleeping with the family herd in the company of senior male relatives, and left alone with the yearling kids for much of the day. These animals become essential 'playmates' in male childhood. But an even stronger attachment between master and animal emerges in the case of senior herdsmen, who invariably have a favourite goat, usually a finely coloured buck with sweeping or entangled horns. Such goats will respond when their

personal name is called,[5] and many herdsmen compose special praise songs of affection for their favourites, employing the melodies and prosody of maternal lullabies (*išpaḍēk*).

Relations among men can also be more intimately expressed in the pastures than is normally possible in the villages. Life in the mountain camps is marked by an informality and a sense of equality among herdsmen that proves difficult to maintain in the valleys.[6] There is an abundance of good food here—especially meat, milk and cheese—which tends to be scarce in the villages, and so men experience a rare spirit of generosity and commensality which they contrast with the frugality of domestic life in the valleys. In the rarified atmosphere of the mountains, men can reflect at leisure on the troubled world beneath them. They can discuss current disputes and feuds with detachment, for all such conflicts can be construed to derive from problems over women. The social atmosphere of the summer herding camp, and of the winter stable during the Chaomos festival, has therefore all the characteristics of a male club: youths freely boast of their sexual prowess and discuss scandals of adultery and elopement in the valleys; older men recount their memories of goat raids and famous feasts in the past, and teach their grandsons the traditional tales of ancestors. It is a place of male socialisation. Here where youths live, work and sleep together, the most intimate friendships may develop. Boys from different lineages become sworn bond-partners (*dāri*), sacrificing a goat and sharing its paired kidneys, swearing eternal allegiance.[7] In the valleys such friendships prove more difficult to maintain, where men of separate households are likely to become divided through incessant feuds over land and women.

The ritual evaluation of goats as sacred animals must also be related to their sacrificial role as primary offerings to Kalasha deities. Sacrificial feasting is certainly a major motivation behind Kalasha livestock husbandry, noticeably affecting the age and sex composition of their herds in favour of mature bucks, to the detriment of reproductive growth and optimal dairy production (Parkes 1983: 144–72). Kalasha prestige feasts are themselves predominantly sacrificial performances (Darling 1979), their major ceremonies confined to an exclusively male audience at the sanctuaries of the most important male deities; for the consecrated meat of male goats is strictly forbidden to women as a sacred (pure-male) foodstuff. Indigenous representations of Kalasha sacrifice as a commensal rite of association among purified men and deities have indeed some intriguing resemblances to Robertson Smith's (1894) often discredited conception of pastoral 'communion' sacrifices among the early Semites (cf. Hubert & Mauss 1964: 2–4); and we shall find that his related notion of a quasi 'totemic' relationship between herdsmen and livestock may also contain suggestive insights in approaching the whole spectrum of Kalasha animal values—as a contrastive system of symbolic categories that define sexual, moral and ethnic identities in opposition to those of neighbouring peoples.

Goats are also associated with wild animals of the mountain region which are considered especially pure or sacred. Of paramount importance is the markhor (*Capra falconeri*), a giant wild caprid with magnificent spiralling horns. Markhor are conceived to be the sacred goat herds of wild spirits of the mountains (*sūči*); and they are also thought to be the archaic progenitors of domestic goats, the primordial livestock of men and *sūči* spirits when both were originally 'mixed together' in the mountain realm. Goats with twisted and entangled horns, recalling the image of their ancestral stock, are therefore considered especially sacred animals, the design of interlaced goat-markhor horns (*kumbřēřa ṣiŋ*) being the most prominent motif in Kalasha ritual iconography.

In contrast to goats, cattle and sheep are of little importance in Kalasha pastoral subsistence, respectively comprising just 5 and 16 per cent. of all livestock, and they are certainly negatively valued in Kalasha religion. Cattle were traditionally considered impure or unclean animals, and in the nineteenth century the Kalasha are reported to have avoided 'beef, cows milk and butter made from it' (Biddulph 1880: 133). Nowadays such strict avoidance of cattle products is only upheld by the ritually pure shaman-prophet (*dehār*) of each community; yet little cow's milk is consumed (mainly by women) and no dairy products are made from it by the Kalasha, unlike many cattle-breeding Nuristani neighbours.[8]

As Biddulph (1880: 113) noted, a ritual aversion towards cattle appears to have been characteristic of the pre-Islamic culture of other Dardic-speaking peoples of the Karakorum region, where such avoidance of the 'unholy cow' seems to have been even more strongly expressed in the past (Jettmar 1961; 1975: 252 sqq.). Biddulph further suggested that this anomalous Indian attitude may have arisen as a tribalist 'perversion' of orthodox Brahminical values about the sanctity of cattle, and this historical hypothesis has been broadly adopted by subsequent scholars (Jettmar 1961; Fussman 1977: 39–41). However, a simpler explanation may perhaps be found in the contemporary herding practice of the Kalasha and of their Dardic-speaking neighbours of the eastern Hindu Kush. Here goat husbandry appears to be predominant for environmental reasons, with rough mountain pastures better suited to browsing than grazing, and with forests of evergreen oak providing essential winter fodder for goats (but not cattle) in the valleys. With insufficient grass forage, cows in this region are notably lean and can barely produce enough milk for their calves. It is also significant that cattle, unlike goats, are kept in village stables throughout the year, fed by women on waste fodder collected from the fields in summer. Kalasha cattle do not therefore usually accompany the goat herds to the mountain pastures, as is common practice among adjacent Nuristani peoples (Strand 1975). Cattle therefore have only a subsidiary and non-pastoral function in subsistence, mainly required for their traction power in ploughing and threshing, and so they may be conveniently delegated to the care of women in the valleys. Cattle are thus well suited to be conceptually assigned to the 'impure' and demonic realm of the valleys: through their practical association with the female sphere of production, and hence in symbolic opposition to goats.

Sheep are also kept in very small numbers by the Kalasha, purely for their wool yield. Although taken up to the mountain pastures with the goat herds, sheep are kept apart in the corrals and are taken to browse separately with the yearling kids. In winter sheep are again usually kept with the kids in a separate stable from the mature goat herd, or else with cattle in the village cow sheds where they are also fed by women on the leaves and stalks of cereal crops. Sheep

are also regarded as ritually inferior livestock and are never sacrificed at the major sanctuaries of male deities. Sheep are rather the sacrificial animals of women, providing permissible (non-sacral) meat for women at feasts equivalent to that of female goats. Rams are therefore frequently used in offerings to the familial goddess Jeshtak as well as in private women's sacrifices to the birth goddess Dezalik. Sheep seem to be symbolically associated with Jeshtak, whose temple portals are adorned with rams-head wooden effigies; but sheep are also thought to be the livestock of debased *bhut* spirits or 'demons' of the lower valley region, and they are indeed most commonly sacrificed in curing ceremonies for female possession by *bhut* spirits. The ambivalent ritual role of sheep, as neither pure nor categorically impure animals, may perhaps also be related to their indistinct location within Kalasha herding practice: associated with men and goats during summer, but then usually tended by women, together with cattle, during winter.

In relation to these livestock values, however, it should be noted that domestic fowls are the truly polluting animals in Kalasha ritual conception—as was clearly also the case among the Afghan Kafirs and many other non-Islamic peoples of this region (Robertson 1896: 379; Biddulph 1880: 113). Only within the present generation have the hens of converted Kalasha been tolerated in some villages, and the eating of poultry and eggs remains strictly forbidden in ritual custom. Hens and eggs are felt to be emblematic of a foreign (Islamic) diet that is opposed in every respect to pastoral values of ritual purity. Hens are thought to be 'dirty' animals, pecking filth in the villages, and it may be pertinent that hen-keeping is a necessarily female occupation among Muslim neighbours, associated with the domestic domain of the village in contrast to the mountain pastures.

The symbolic values of Kalasha animals may therefore be seen to be ordered along a basic gradient of altitude: their livestock, together with the wild markhor of the mountains, form a linked series of categories that embrace the entire ritual spectrum from purity to pollution (fig. 2). The metaphorical values of these animals, especially in rhetorical discourse, also tend to be related to differences of gender: goats are thought to be strong and intelligent like men while other animals, and particularly sheep, are conceived to have female characteristics of passivity and spiritual weakness (Parkes 1983: 189).

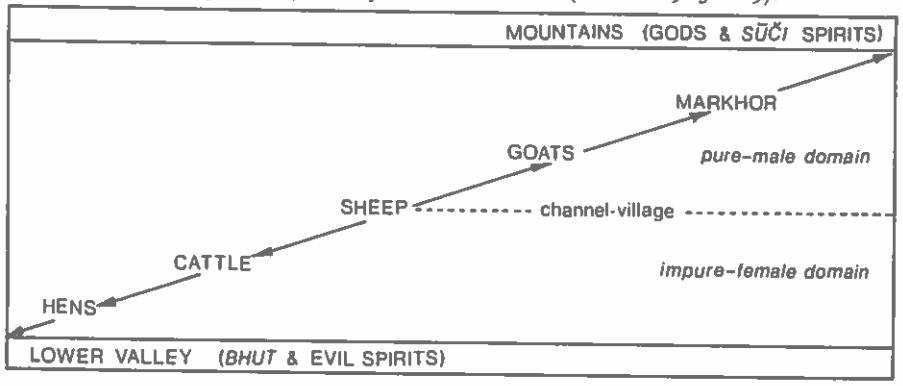

FIGURE 2. Kalasha animal values and relative altitude.

One is strikingly reminded here of John Campbell's (1964: 26, 31–3) description of the pastoral worldview of Greek Sarakatsani shepherds, where 'women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep'. Sarakatsani shepherding notions of female pollution, specifically associated with the demonic realm, appear to be exact homologues of those of the Kalasha in relation to their respective pastoral values: women should not come into contact with the flocks, particularly during their menstrual periods; only men are allowed to milk the sheep; and such shepherds should be 'clean in a ritual sense'. Indeed almost every sentence of Campbell's account could apply equally to the conceptions of the Kalasha: except, of course, that the roles of sheep and goats are absolutely reversed in their moral and ritual connotations, in accordance with their reversed subsistence values in these two societies and the reversed division of labour between the sexes in their management. More pertinent 'inversions' of such contrastive livestock values also occur among pastoral peoples in the immediate vicinity of the Kalasha, to be considered below.

Purity, impurity and pastoral ideology

Kalasha livestock values form essential elements of a fundamental religious dichotomy between the sacred and the polluting: *ōnjeṣta* and *prāghata*. These terms are contrastively defined according to specific ritual contexts, but one can draw up a simple chart of the primary categories designated here (table 1; cf. Siiger 1956; Snoy 1962: 224–9; Jettmar 1975: 335–9).

The underlying opposition between these two sets of categories clearly concerns male and female spheres of association, corresponding with the distinct sexual division of agro-pastoral labour in Kalasha society. This opposition is especially embodied in the topographical contrast between mountain and valley (table 1:I), the highest mountain peaks and pastures (*son*) being considered the special abode of gods and pure *sūči* spirits. The natural vegetation of the mountains is also intrinsically connected with the sacred. Most important is the juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*) which grows as the highest evergreen forest around the pastures and provides the main source of fuel in the herding camps. Branches of juniper are essential sacraments in Kalasha ritual offerings, where all

TABLE 1. Pure and Impure Categories in Kalasha Ritual Thought.

	Pure (ōnjeṣta)	Impure (*prāghata*)
I	Mountains & Pastures Juniper Holm Oak	Lower Valleys Onions & Garlic *Rhog* Diestuff
II	Markhor Goats Honey-bees	Cattle (Sheep) Hens & Eggs
III	Altars Goat Stables	*Bašāli* House Graveyard
IV	Men	Women

sacrifices must be performed before a sacred fire of burning juniper branches, whose pungent smoke, strongly reminiscent of the herding camps, is believed to attract the gods down to their sanctuaries in the valleys. The word for 'juniper', *sāras*, is therefore also the general expression for 'rite' in the Kalasha language. The other ritually pure tree is the evergreen holm or holly-oak (*Quercus balut*), growing in stunted forests on the lower mountainside, whose prickly leaves provide essential winter fodder for goats. Branches of holm oak are used together with juniper at blood sacrifices and they take the place of juniper at lesser ritual offerings of milk and flour. It is significant that both these sacred trees are essential for the herding economy of the Kalasha, supporting our general interpretation of their ritual performance as a symbolic 'recreation' of the pastoral world in the profane context of the valleys.

The lower cultivated regions of the valleys, lying beneath the main water channels, are the true antithesis of the mountain domain: those areas delegated to women and to agriculture, including Kalasha villages. Especially impure are the lowermost parts of the valleys settled by Muslims, and thence the entire foreign world outside. Two vegetables, onions and garlic, are felt to be emblematic of this foreign world and are considered to be highly polluting like hens and eggs. The gods and *sūči* spirits of the mountains are thought to be as repelled by the stench of onions and garlic as they are attracted by the fragrance of juniper smoke. Both vegetables are also associated with evil spirits (*balā*) that derive from the lower ends of the valleys, as is another polluting substance, *rhoŋ*, the red tubers of a shrub used by women as a scarlet dyestuff. One finds that women, domestic culture, outsiders and evil spirits are all closely connected in Kalasha ritual thought: all are properly confined to the lower parts of the valleys, in opposition to the pure and masculine realm of the mountain pastures.

The ritual evaluation of domestic animals (table 1:II) has been sufficiently described in my earlier discussion of livestock values. However, one additional natural category of the sacred requires special elucidation in this context: that of bees and their honey. Like the meat of male goats, honey is treated as a highly sacred substance which is forbidden to women and must be treated under conditions of extreme ritual purity. The sacred status of bees and their honey is elucidated in several myths that present the hive as a divine exemplar of masculine social order, of male co-operation under the leadership of a 'king bee' (*maċhērik ša*), explicitly associated with the regal domain of the mountain *sūči* spirits and the ideal male society of the herding camps. Further analogies are made between bees and goats, both foraging in the pastures in order to provide 'sacred wealth' for mankind (Parkes 1983: 192–5). Bees are thus associated with the goat herds and their dairy produce, with the *sūči* spirits and wild markhor of the mountains, and also with the male society of Kalasha herdsmen themselves. Mediating between several dimensions of the sacred, their domestic hives convey the ideal order of the herding camp inside the village domain.

Within the valley zone (table 1:III) the sacred is defined exclusively in relation to the altars of male deities (*dēwa dur*) and the goat stables (*goṣt*). The stables serve as sanctuaries in their own right: for both herding deities (the gods Surizan and Goshidoi) and male ancestor spirits (*ārwa* or *nāṣta*) which are thought to hover around the herds of their descendants. Both altars and stables are clearly segregated from the female domain of villages and fields, lying in the evergreen oak forest region above the uppermost channels that irrigate the fields. Indeed these water channels (*žāi*) serve as permanent ritual boundaries, clear-cut lines of demarcation between the opposed zones of purity and impurity, between upper-male and lower-female space, which women are forbidden to cross without special purification.

The contrasting loci of extreme impurity are the bashali (*bašāli*) 'houses of seclusion' for women during their unclean periods of menstruation and childbirth (Graziosi 1961) and the graveyard (*māṇḍau-ǰāu*) with its exposed coffins. Both areas are thought to be haunted by an abstract class of the demonic: spirits of ill-health and disease (*aphāt-balā*). These malignant forces are felt to be attracted to all forms of decaying human flesh, including menstrual blood, the bloody afterbirth of parturition, and equally bloodshed caused in village brawls. Feeding upon impurity, preying upon natural weaknesses of body and mind, such evil spirits constantly seek out points of exposure in the individual and social body in order to gain entry into the human world. Female sexuality and death provide two such prominent points of access for their contagious influence.

It can be seen that Kalasha ideas of purity and impurity are fundamentally organised around the opposition of the sexes (table 1:IV). Men are considered to have an innate capacity to cope with the sacred once they are ritually purified, this capacity having been acquired, according to myth, from their common ancestry with the gods and *sūči* spirits of the mountain zone and their subsequent legacy of sacred livestock from this region (Snoy 1974). Young boys of seven are initiated into this male-pastoral society through special rites (*istōŋgas*) held in the goat stables during the Chaomos winter festival, when they are sprinkled with the blood of a goat provided by their mother's brother. Thus cleansed from the pollution of infantile dependence upon women, the boys are dressed by their mothers' brothers in their embroidered trousers of manhood (*bhut-sambiēk*) and assisted in making their first offerings to the deities. From this age until puberty, young boys are considered to be at their peak of male purity: they become 'sacred children' (*ōṅješta sūda*) who alone may slaughter bucks and offer their blood to gods at major rites. Such boys are also appointed to milk the nannies of the herd on ritual occasions, since they can convey no danger of female pollution. Adult men, however, necessarily pass back and forth between spheres of purity and impurity—the pastoral and the domestic—throughout their lives. Their attendance at rites therefore requires prior purification through washing and fumigation with juniper smoke in order to remove the potential pollution acquired through contact with women.

All adult women are considered to convey impurity through their periods of menstruation and childbirth. For six days during their monthly period of 'unhealthiness' (*behalwāu*) women are secluded within the bashali house, where they are also confined during childbirth and for some 20 to 30 days thereafter. The pollution of female sexuality is specifically expressed in women's special rites of purification on these occasions: the so-called 'head-breads' (*ṣiṣ-aū*), a pile of loaves, including a symbolic representation of female genitalia, which women must hold out while being ritually cleansed and fumigated by a 'sacred

boy'. In everyday life women must also observe numerous prohibitions to prevent their contamination of men, being particularly careful to avoid touching any objects connected with the goat stables. Any unwitting infringement of these taboos requires an immediate sacrifice of purification (*onjeṣ marāt*) to prevent evil spirits of disease from reaching the goat herd. Young girls are significantly only taught these elaborate rules of ritual hygiene just prior to their first visit to the bashali house; while prepubescent girls, and elderly women past menopause who have 'broken with the bashali' (*bašāli čhini*), are exceptionally allowed to approach the goat herds and stables of their male relatives.

In summary, Kalasha ideas about ritual purity are primarily orientated towards goats and their places of sacrifice; ideas about pollution are, by contrast, associated with women, with evil spirits, and with foreign life outside the valleys. Evil spirits of disease are invariably associated with Muslim settlements at the lower ends of the valleys: where ritual becomes ineffective and whence epidemic diseases are known to arise. Women, considered physically, spiritually and emotionally vulnerable, are regarded as potential carriers of impurity from these areas; and of course women are also held responsible for creating antagonisms among men (as witnessed in their elopements) which give leeway for demonic spirits to do their mischief in society. A major preoccupation of Kalasha religion, as an essentially masculine cult of communication with divine powers of the mountain zone, is therefore to keep women and goats segregated: to immunise the pastoral sphere from any possibility of female contamination.

Many of the intrinsic notions of this dualist cosmology of male purity and female impurity are of course characteristic of tribal societies throughout south Asia, also having evident analogies in the pollution beliefs of Hinduism (Dumont & Pocock 1959; cf. Ortner 1973). But what appears distinctive of Kalasha ritual conception lies less in the specific content of such notions as in their overall constellation as an oppositional scheme: its radical partitioning of sacred and profane categories as members of spatially as well as symbolically discrete domains, rigorously modelled upon the vertical dichotomisation of the mountain environment. Goats and women, from the perspective of male ritual values, thus become focal embodiments of two contrasting modalities of social order—what I have termed the 'pastoral' and the 'domestic'—that ideologically juxtapose the harmonious community of herdsmen in the mountains with the neccessarily competitive nature of everyday social life in the valleys. Other symbolic oppositions in Kalasha religious thought simply elaborate upon this elementary dichotomy of mountain and valley domains.

Women and the 'Anti-pastoral'

It should be evident that the pastoral ideology inherent in Kalasha religious symbolism constitutes a highly idealised ritual representation of masculine herding experience: one that scarcely reflects the totality of Kalasha societal values, least of all the perspectives of Kalasha women. As suggested initially, the radical disjunction of an exclusively male-pastoral domain of the sacred seems unequivocally connected with the prominence of sexually agonistic institutions in Kalasha village communities, particularly wife-stealing through *ataṣiŋ* elopement. I have thus argued that it is against the recurrent threat of irreparable social anarchy erupting from female domestic machinations (in male opinion) that the ritually idealised conception of an exclusively pastoral domain of the sacred derives its significance. The ritually subordinate 'anti-pastoral' domain of women does, however, also receive distinctive ceremonial expression in several important religious contexts. Most explicit is the symbolic rebellion of women against masculine control that occurs at the climax of the Chaomos midwinter festival: when women take exclusive possession of the villages, while men are ritually secluded in the goat stables, their uninhibited festal songs expressing women's potential independence from male concerns as well as openly mocking the pastoral values and obsessions of herdsmen. The anti-pastoral worldview of women, focussed upon issues of human sexuality and fertility that are considered impure in male religious ideology, is also clearly expressed in exclusively feminine rites surrounding childbirth in the bashali birth-house. Here women conduct their own private offerings and prayers to the Creatrix Dezalik, sister of the male Creator Dezau, implying an alternative 'female religion' that partially contradicts and inverts the masculine ritual ideology elucidated here (treated in Parkes in press *a*; cf. Jettmar 1975: 349–50)

'Pastoral codes' in the Hindu Kush and highland Eurasia

The positive ritual value of goats among the Kalasha, and the contrasting negative evaluation of cattle as impure animals, associated with female and demonic pollution, seems to have been characteristic of the pre-Islamic culture of other Dardic speakers in the Hindu Kush and Karakorum region, who also largely depended upon goat husbandry for subsistence (Jettmar 1975: 217–18; 291 sqq.; Snoy 1975: 99–101; Nayyar 1986: 25). Among the Kati Kafirs of Bashgal Valley described by Robertson (1896) there is also evidence of a similar ritual categorisation of livestock, again corresponding to a conceptual (and pragmatic) division of the mountain environment into 'pure' (male-pastoral) and 'impure' (female-village) zones (Snoy 1962: 80 sqq.). As a traveller of this region wryly remarked of Bashgali communities:

> It is a singular custom of these people that all the milking of cows and goats is done by the men. The women are not allowed to have anything to do with the milk or the milking. The making of butter and cheese, and in fact all preparation of milk products is a male right. The women do all the heavy work in the fields and carry loads as well. The men in fact are dairy maids, and nothing else [!] (Schomberg 1938: 90)

Even ploughing with oxen was normally performed by women in Bashgal, where 'a man never touches the plough handle' (Robertson 1896: 550; cf. Edelberg 1968), suggesting an even more rigorous division of agricultural and pastoral labour between the sexes than is found among the contemporary Kalasha.

In the case of these Kati Kafirs of Bashgal Valley, however, it was clearly cattle that were the most highly valued livestock (Jettmar 1986: 25); and cattle imagery seems to have played a similar role in Kati religious iconography to that

of goats and wild caprids among the Kalasha. Goats were evidently regarded as inferior livestock in Bashgal, for sacrificial and prestige purposes; but it seems to have been sheep that were especially designated as impure and demonic creatures in Kati ritual conception (Snoy 1962: 144; Palwal 1969: 76–9; cf. Morgenstierne 1951: 168 on demons as rams in Kati myths). This partial reversal of Kalasha animal values may perhaps be related to different environmental conditions that objectively favour cattle rather than goats in the pastoral economy of Bashgal (Strand 1975), although this need not preclude an earlier 'cattle complex' among Kati speakers prior to their historical migration to Bashgal from western Nuristan.[9]

Elsewhere in Nuristan, and particularly in its narrow southern valleys of Waigal and Ashkun, where the pastoral environment and economy are more strictly comparable to those of the Kalasha and other Dardic speakers, one finds clear traces of the same ritual respect for goats and markhor in opposition to women and cattle (Jones 1974: 26, 99; 1986; Klimburg 1986; Motamedi 1983). The relics of an identical 'goat complex' have also been noted by Ovesen (1983) among the Dardic-speaking Pashai peoples on the southern borders of Nuristan (cf. Wutt 1981: 56–7). Among the neighbouring Pamir Tajiks north of the Hindu Kush, where sheep husbandry is predominant, one conversely finds that 'the clean and holy animal is the sheep, whereas goats are considered malicious and satanical or demoniacal beings' (Jettmar 1986: 3; cf. Kussmaul 1965; Litvinskij 1983; Andreev 1953–8). We are thus confronted with an extensive set of alternatively juxtaposed livestock values throughout this region: corresponding to their subsistence values in each instance, but underpinning a seemingly identical ritual conception of the natural and supernatural environment (table 2).

The similar conceptions that have been reported of European mountain pastoralists suggest that such systems of contrasting animal values may once have had a more widespread distribution throughout Eurasia. Reviewing Campbell's account of the symbolic opposition of sheep and goats among the Sarakatsani, Blok (1981) has argued that rams and billy-goats once constituted core metaphorical elements of an archaic 'pastoral code' in the Mediterranean, where these kinds of livestock respectively connote homologous moral oppositions between hierarchically paired values of honour and shame, virility and femininity, good and evil, purity and uncleanliness (Blok 1981: 430–1; see also Brandes 1981). Several references in Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* (1980: 293–5) and in Ott's (1981) account of a traditional Basque shepherding community also indicate traces of a similar symbolic opposition between sheep and pigs as

TABLE 2. The alternative evaluation of livestock in the Hindu Kush.

	High Value 'Pure'	*Neutral*	*Low Value 'Impure'*
Kalasha, Pashai & E. Dardic-speakers	Goats	Sheep	Cattle
Kati Kafirs, Bashgal	Cattle	Goats	Sheep
Pamir Tajiks	Sheep	Cattle	Goats

respectively male-pastoral and [illegible] perhaps among early Hebraic pastoralists); while a north European 'pastoral code', contrasting cattle and sheep as 'sacred' and 'profane' livestock, has been evinced by Shanklin (1976) in southwest Donegal.

In these European cases, as in the Hindu Kush, one notes a central preoccupation with gender constructs associated with alternative pairs of animals, accompanied by a practical division of labour by sex where men are assigned the predominant pastoral tasks in subsistence. By analogy with Kalasha experience, it seems probable that such contrastive livestock codes almost invariably correspond with a high ideological valuation of the pastoral sphere as an exclusively masculine social world, in opposition to the domestic domain of women. Again, there are distinct echoes of this experience in the dichotomies of male herding camp (*cabane*) and female household (*domus*) noted by Le Roy Ladurie (1980: 109–110) in thirteenth-century Montaillou, where

> the pastor's cabin contrasts with the villager's *domus*, just as true masculine friendship contrasts with parochial propinquity and all its rancours (Le Roy Ladurie 1980: 355)

The symbolic elaboration of this dichotomy in the Pyrenees (well suited to the Cathar dualism of Montaillou) emerges particularly in Ott's analysis of the exclusively masculine world of the Basque *olha* camp, where 'in their mountain huts the shepherds re-created the socio-domestic and ideologically female domain of the house' (Ott 1981: 151).

There is a noticeable contrast in the dual symbolic livestock codes of mountain pastoralists to the more elaborate categorisation of animal values reported of predominantly agricultural communities. As the exemplary analyses of Leach (1964) and Tambiah (1969) illustrated, animal metaphors and associations are there normally employed to discriminate radiating sets of moral and behavioural categories of relative identity (cf. Douglas 1975; Brandes 1984): where an extensive range of domestic and wild animals may figuratively represent an equivalent spectrum of moral values and personal categories, ordered in relation to their 'social distance' to some central (domestic) point of reference. In our mountain communities, on the other hand, whose vertical ecology effectively precludes any lateral discrimination of space, animals are primarily associated with male and female values of 'purity' and 'impurity'; and further ideas about moral relationships—about insiders and outsiders, whether human or supernatural—tend to be conflated within this elementary set of animal-gender oppositions.

In reference to these contrasting livestock codes, one might again reconsider Robertson Smith's conception of a specific variety of 'pastoral totemism' (1894: 213 sqq.), albeit shorn of its evolutionist premisses and placed in the broader cognitive perspective of Lévi-Strauss (1962; 1966); i.e., a dual symbolic system of animal contrasts, of major and minor species in herding subsistence, tended by men and women respectively, which is ideologically founded upon the pastoral ideal of the 'good herdsman', operating in an exclusively masculine social context, set in opposition to the 'sinful village', the female-domestic domain of relative societal discord. Apart from contemporary European ethnography, there are intriguing allusions to such systems of ideas associated

with livestock symbolism in both Hebraic and classical literature (Blok 1981: 429; Alinei 1982). Furthermore, Blok's tentative reconstruction of such pastoral codes in the Mediterranean region could certainly be extended to a major part of central Asia, particularly among its Tajik or Persian-speaking population for whom, as among the Sarakatsani, 'the sheep was really considered *rakhmoni* (divine) while the goat was *shaitoni* (diabolic)' (Sukhareva 1984: 34–5; cf. Litvinskij 1983). An extensive permutational set of variously juxtaposed livestock values can thus be traced among Eurasian mountain pastoralists from the Pyrenees to the western Himalayas.

Conclusions

Many further instances of these dual symbolic systems associated with agro-pastoral subsistence might be cited if we were to extend our survey outside Eurasia (e.g. Rigby 1971; Shanklin 1983). It seems premature, however, to attempt such inter-regional generalisation until we have more exact ethnographic accounts of the beliefs and values of different transhumant pastoralists. Kalasha livestock values, and the underlying dichotomisation of the environment into pure and impure ritual spheres, must I think be related to specific features of their productive practice and social organisation. These concern the extreme division of labour between the sexes in subsistence and a corresponding social structure, in the village communities of the valleys, in which sexual antagonism and institutions of marital rivalry or wife-stealing play a prominent role. Similar antagonistic institutions, including elopement feuds, seem to have been characteristic of many other pastoral-based societies in the Hindu Kush, particularly among the Afghan Kafirs. I have therefore argued that these social conditions, themselves symbolically constituted, need to be taken into account in comparing structurally identical cosmologies of purity and impurity associated with mountain and valley in this region. The particular livestock that embody such contrasting values seemingly vary according to their relative economic importance in each instance and hence in their respective delegation to men, in the purely pastoral zone, or to women, along with agriculture and domestic life, in the valleys.

While the alternative ritual evaluation of livestock seems to correspond with their relative subsistence values, according to different environmental conditions in the distribution of pastoral resources, I do not wish to suggest that the underlying symbolic scheme of contrastive oppositions is simply modelled upon some *a priori* productive practice. The rigorous sexual division of labour characteristic of the Kalasha and many of their neighbours is symbolically 'over-determined' by ritual, albeit reasonably adapted to the exigencies of a hostile mountain environment. Indeed there is intriguing evidence of some apparently reversed divisions of agro-pastoral labour by sex in this region, particularly in the Pamirs, with correspondingly inverted cosmologies of purity and impurity associated with male agriculture and female pastoralism (Jettmar 1986: 3; Schomberg 1938: 230–1; cf. Harris 1978: 26–7 and Skar 1978 on female-pastoralist livestock symbolism in the Andes). I would therefore rather suggest

partitioning of spatial domains, of mountain and valley regions, whose symbolic and moral connotations may be variously exploited in religious ideology and social practice (Parkes in press *b*; cf. Ovesen 1983).

It would be difficult to extend our explanatory framework wholesale into regions where social structural conditions associated with livestock husbandry were quite different. However, there appear to be sufficient parallels in the practical organisation and pastoral values of transhumant mountain communities throughout Eurasia to merit further comparison. The Kalasha, with their traditional religion and pastoral economy largely intact, may offer a privileged vantage-point for such research elsewhere.

NOTES

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[1] Earlier literature on the Kalasha or 'Kalash Kafirs' may be found in Schomberg (1938), Siiger (1956), Jettmar (1975: 325–412), Wutt (1977), Loude (1980) and Loude & Lièvre (1984).

[2] See Robertson (1896: 533–6) on compensation payments for adultery and elopement among the Kafirs of Bashgal. On 'sexual polarity' in Afghan Kafir religious culture, see Klimburg (1976).

[3] Equivalent *palai* or *palā* herding companies in Nuristan are described by A. Y. Nuristani (1973), Jones (1974: 31–3) and in Edelberg & Jones (1979: 74–81).

[4] 'Men of horns' are contrasted with the 'hornless' *kōṇda* who lack goat herds sufficient for feasting. Cf. Jones (1974: 99) on goat horns as equivalent symbols of wealth and virility in Waigal Valley, Nuristan. Lewis (1976: 116–17) appositely comments on the contrasting symbolic connotations of horns in the Hindu Kush and the Mediterranean, especially in view of our subsequent references to Blok (1981).

[5] Unlike other domestic animals, goats are given personal names by Kalasha herdsmen: usually based on colour/horn terms, or noted behavioural traits, with a feminine suffix (Parkes 1983: 101–3).

[6] Egalitarian arrangements for the 'rotation' (*gherēl-*) of herdsmen and herding duties in Kalasha mountain camps have striking analogies with those of the Basques described by Ott (1981: 151–70), discussed in Parkes (1983: 174–7).

[7] See Robertson's (1896: 213) account of kidney-sharing bond partnership in Bashgal. Cf. Jones (1974: 139) and Palwal (1977: 81–4) on equivalent *söli* partnerships elsewhere in Nuristan. Apart from partnerships with outsiders, Kalasha internal *dâri* relations are intimately associated with herding partnerships, often reinforcing and perpetuating *palawī* contracts between descent groups (Parkes 1983: 130). Bond partnership thus constitute an 'alternative social structure' of fictive male kinship (see Hammel 1968), relating specifically to the pastoral domain and complementing lineal relations of agnatic kinship.

[8] It should be noted that bulls are occasionally slaughtered at Kalasha feasts as well as at some special sacrifices (usually associated with pollution or misfortune). But sacred juniper may not be used as the sacral fire in such circumstances, being replaced by profane cedarwood; and the sacrifice of a bull invariably requires the secondary sacrifice of a goat, together with burning juniper, in order to repurify the sanctuary.

[9] Bashgal Valley, and the upper valleys of Ramgal and Parun, are somewhat exceptional in their relatively wide, U-shaped glacial profiles (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 22–3). Their upper tributary valleys therefore contain rich alpine meadows for cattle grazing, while even the lower valleys have sizeable tracts of grassland which allow cattle herds to be maintained over winter (Strand 1975). In the narrower, V-shaped valleys of southern Nuristan (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 65ff.), rougher

mountain pastures are far more suitable for goat browsing, as in the eastern Hindu Kush and Karakorum regions of northern Pakistan. As noted by the 1[illegible] German Hindu Kush Expedition (Scheibe 1937: 152–4), the regional importance of goat husbandry also closely correlates with the distribution of evergreen oak as winter fodder.

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THE MANAGEMENT OF MENTAL ILLNESS AMONG MAHARASHTRIAN FAMILIES: A CASE STUDY OF A MAHANUBHAV HEALING TEMPLE

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Fieldwork was carried out in a Mahanubhav healing temple in Maharashtra. Women's responsibility for the health and well-being of the family is given a novel and literal interpretation in this setting. Women come as care givers accompanying a mentally ill family member. But although they arrive as care givers and, indeed, continue to fulfil that function, they become afflicted by trance soon after their arrival. Women see this transformation into patienthood as resulting from their devotion to their families. Indeed, they pray that the illness be transferred from their sons, husband or daughters to themselves. It is thought that regular trance will channel the force of the earlier affliction away from the original patient. Thus women cultivate trance as a sacrificial device to ensure the health and well-being of the rest of the family. This view of trance is vigorously contested by the temple experts, however, who see trance as symptomatic of feminine pollution and character weakness. This lack of consensus regarding the nature of trance and the distribution of affliction has cautionary implications for a monistic approach to religious and medical institutions.

Women, illness and treatment opportunities

Fieldwork was carried out in a Mahanubhav temple in Maharashtra renowned for its trance inducing properties and its therapeutic powers in relation to mental illness. This setting was chosen because it was anticipated that large numbers of people who considered themselves, or were considered by others, to be mentally ill would gather there. The research had two kinds of distinct but interrelated aims: one being of a psychiatric epidemiological nature and the other socio-anthropological. The psychiatric questions were prompted by the apparent contrast between the sex distribution of psychiatric disorder in the west and in traditional societies. Western mental health surveys, admission and consultation figures all point to the greater psychiatric morbidity of women. Psychiatric surveys in developing countries do not follow this trend.

Epidemiological studies in non-industrialised societies do not appear to confirm the excess psychiatric morbidity found among women in the western world. Although the field of cross-cultural psychiatry is large and flourishing, however, and although women's mental health is a topic of concern, the interesting apparent difference between women's mental health in western industrialised societies and non-industrialised societies has not been investigated. A review of population surveys in India suggests the direction of research. Incidentally, 'more population surveys for psychiatric illness have been conducted in India than in any other developing country' (Leff 1981: 90). A